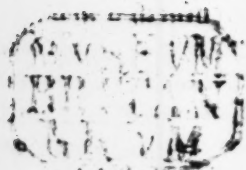


# **Tullius de amicitia, in Englysh.**

**H**ere after ensueth a goodly treatyse of  
ampte or frendshyp/compelyd in latyn by  
the most eloquent Romaine Mar-  
cus Tullius Cicero/and la-  
tely translatyd in to  
Englyshe.:



**Q**uintus Mutius Augur Senola/ thys was hys  
name/ whiche was wonte to telle many thynges  
merely and by mynde of Caius Lelius his fader  
in lawe/ And he was not asfearde to call him a wyse  
man in all hys saynges. To the whiche Senola

I was put by my fader. And after y or I had takē  
the clothyng due to the estate of man/ whyle I myght or y yt  
was lef full to come so to doo/ I neuer departed fro y good olde  
mannys syde/ of whom I lerned many thynges dysputed repely  
And many thynges sayd compendously/ And behouely suche I  
bare a day/ doyng me payne by meanes of hys wysdom to fynde  
my selfe the better taught. And after hys decesse/ I was wryth a  
nother Senola a bysshop: the whiche I bare well sare the most  
excellent man in wysdom and iustyce. But no force of y at thys  
tyme/ I wyll retorne to the fyrst Senola. Whan he lyked to telle  
ys of many thynges sptyng in his chayer/ as he was wont to do  
at home/ as I am well remembred whyle I was there a fewe of  
my seruantis with hym/ yt fortunēd hym to fall in suche speche:  
as well nyghe was in euery mans mouth. Attice ye remēbre well  
as I trowe and moch the rather that ye were conuersant wryth  
Publius Supplicius whan he was one of the Tribunes of the  
people/ how he fell at varraunce a at dedly hate with hym Quintus  
Pompeius that tyme cōsul. And sith he had spurd with hym  
in great nyghnes of loue/ how great meruayle a complaunt was  
had of the people ye your selfe knowe well. And whan Senola  
had fallen thus in this langage/ he declared thus y word: whiche  
Lelius had vsed vnto hym of frendshyp/ and hys sonne in lawe  
Fannius the sone of Marcus wryth in fewe dayes after the death  
of Scipio Affrican. The sentences of the whiche dysputacon/  
I bare surely in my remembraunce/ and haue dysposed the same  
in thys boke as me semeth/ and ther wryth introduced the same per  
sones in spekyng to gyders/ lest yf I made my boke other wyse/  
I shold vse to ofte/ quoth I and quoth he. And therfore mych the  
rather I orde y/ that y shold seme/ as yf the same persones had  
y same langage. And Attice sith ye haue oft entreated me to wryte  
somewhat of frendshyp/ It semeth me y yt sptteth me cygh well  
to do so/ as well for it was a thyng due and necessarye to y knowe  
lege of all peple/ as to the great famyliaite a frendshyp byt wene  
ys twayne. Therfor I haue obeyed not vngladly thentent/ that  
by thacomplishment of your desyre I shold moche do profyte to  
many one. But in lyke wise as I orde in my boke which I wrote  
vnto you of age entytled Cato Maior where I ended the olde

Cato dysputyng of age/for so myche as he was semed to me the most apte yfone in that behalve I mene to speke of age/ also sayth he was of so many petyes aboue all other: lyke wyse sayth I vnderstand by our fathers the memorabile famyllyarite vsed betwene Caius Lelius and Publius Scipio/a more apte persone I could not remembre to dyspse better the mater of frendshyp / than the sayd Lelius/namely sayth my mayster Heuola remembryd vnto me/how Lelius hath reformed wyth hym in the same mater. And I can not remembre me how my werke shold mooue seme of greter weyght & auctorite/than yf I cause the wordes which I shall vse to come from thei brestes/ which ben knowen of a gettest authorite and worship. Therfor when I rede my owen werkes I am dysposed somtyme that I deme Cato spekeith & not I. But as that tyme I brought in an aged man to speke wyth a nother of age: so in this booke I moste frendly to the my frende wyte of frendshyp. That tyme spake Cato whos elder thenne coude not be founde/ne in his dayes his wyse. Now Lelius bothe wyse and experie (so he is reputed) and excellent in the souerayne fame of frendshyp/spekyth of amytie or frendshyp. And of one thyng I pray you to turn your mynde fro me/and ymagyn alwaye that the same Lelius spekyth.

¶ Thus endeth the prologue.



Caius Fannius and Quintus Mucius/cam to thei father in lawe / after the deeth of Scipio Affrican/ by whiche the matter was mynystred/ and Lelius made thei answer. The dysputacion was all of frendshyp / the whiche yf yf please you to rede/ ye shall beter apperceyue.

¶ Fannius. ¶ Is this trewe Lelius or no/ & ther was neuer a better ne a more worshipfull mā/ than was Scipio Affrican. Yet ye may trove for certayn/ that all folkes haue thei eyen cast vpon you/and they hold a byleue verily that ye ar to be sette alone & fyrst in the laude of wysedom. Marcus Cato was in lyke wyse. We knowe well & Lelius Attilius was called wyse/for that he was well lerned in his lawe Ciuile: and Cato had his fame/for & he had vse and experie of many thyngs. for diuerse thyngs as well in the senate as in open place/ were shewed by hym/prudently proued/stedfastely excuted/ and quychly answered. And therfor in his age he was called Cato the wyse. But as to you ye haue the name of wysedom/ not only for & ye haue it by



yt by a maner of nature and vse/ But also by studye and doctryne/  
not as the comyn people/ but as the well vnderstandyng men are  
wont to calle a wyse man/ whych say ye haue not your felawe in  
all Grece. for though so be/ they that answered subtylly/ Varpe in  
theyr oppynions from other folkes/ whych putte seuen to be cal-  
lyd wise men/ we haue vnderstode one in Athenes/ & that he was  
so thewed & iuged by the answer of Apollo. But they trod such  
wysefdom to be in you/ that ye suppose how ye haue nothyng but  
such as is your plenare power/ & therewith y every fortune happe  
or chaunce is subget to vertue/ which causeth Heuola here present  
and me to praye you/ that we may vnderstande/ howe ye take the  
deth of Scipio Affrican/ & moche y rather/ syth at our assemblee  
this other day i y gardyn of Decius Brutus (as we were wote)  
to entrecompe of dyuerse maters concernyng our well publysh/  
ye were not present/ where ye ne faylled in tymes paste wyth all  
dyspence there to accomplissh your dutee. ¶ Heuola.

¶ Some men demaunde me & many of my felawes/ in lyke wyse  
as Hannius sayd afore/ the cause I meane of your absence from  
that place. And I haue answered as I haue thought/ sayeng the  
cause the sorowd whych ye haue late taken/ sayeng that how be yt  
your wysefdom toke moderatly the deth of so worshipfull a man  
and so especyall frende/ yet your humanyte myght not suffice you  
to be free of disaile & sorowd. And that ye were not presente in our  
companye/ at that day/ I sayd yt was rather long on your disaile  
than sorowd. ¶ Caelius. ¶ Forsothe Heuola/ euen as it was/ ye  
sayde. I wote ryght well for ony thyng/ that shold haue touched  
my self if I had be of power/ I shold not haue ben thens ne haue  
fauted in my dutee. And namely in that/ that I haue not be vsed  
to faute in. Ne I can suppose that a spyrall thyng sholde moode  
happen to ony man well dysposed aysed or stedfast/ that he shold  
sease at ony tyme of the doyng of hys dutee. And as to you han-  
nius/ whych laye so greete thyng of worshippe to me/ and so  
moche that my selfe knowe not thereof ne desyre the same: ye do  
that as frende. But as me semeth/ ye deme not a ryght of Cato.  
for eyther there was neuer wise mā (and that I beleue well) or  
ellys if ther were ony/ he was one (as in settyng all other thyngs  
aspyde) in y that he suffred so euently the deth of hys sone. I can re-  
membre Paulus/ & I haue seen Caius. But be ware y ye not co-  
pare eyther of these with Cato the man of gretest authoryte and  
most set by. Ne yet preferre hym aboue our Cato whom Apollo  
iuged to be wysest. for Socrates was praysed for hys sayenge  
and Cato for hys dedes. And as for me sythe I muste speke

W<sup>th</sup> you bothe / Understande me in this W<sup>se</sup>. Yf I shall naye my  
self to be moued With the deith of Scipio / Whether I shall mo<sup>ue</sup>  
do so truly / I reporte me to all W<sup>se</sup> men. for I knowe my selfe  
Well. & I shall so sayeng make a lesyng. No doubte of I am mo  
ued for the lack of suche a frende. for hys sembla<sup>le</sup> as I rowe  
in frenshyp Was neuer. And I dare Well saye / there Was neuer  
nene such. But me n<sup>e</sup> deith no medrepnes / I W<sup>ill</sup> cōforte my self  
And pryncypally W<sup>th</sup> thys comfort / that I lak that errour / that  
causeth other to be oft Vexed Whan they frende deceasse. I rowe  
there myght no thynge come to Scipio of euyl / And yf ther d<sup>yd</sup>  
I had my part therin. Who so euer he be that in the dysease of his  
frend soroweth / he sh<sup>e</sup> deith hym self the Vex<sup>er</sup> lower of his frende.  
Who ys he that may saye naye / but that he is ryght Well departed  
from thys world / onlesse that he be such one that setteith lytyll or  
nothyng by immortalyte / And what ys that he had not / that Was  
lee full to our mā to W<sup>ys</sup>hed<sup>ed</sup> not he surmounte & great hope of  
all the Cyteseyns / Whych they had of hym the tyme of his chyld  
hode Whan that he cam to the state of man / By hys incredible Ver  
tue he neuer se W<sup>yd</sup> to be made consull / and t<sup>o</sup> W<sup>ys</sup>es enioyed he that  
asiate. The frist tyme afore or he Was ripe of yeres. The secc<sup>d</sup>  
tyme / Whan he Was of age conuenient / And yet almost to late for  
out Well publysh : for he eueried t<sup>o</sup> great Cytes to Rome / the  
moste capytall enemyes / and he depresseyd not onely the battayls  
made agarnst hym / but many other feides and bataylies & Were  
to come. What shall I saye of hys goodly maners / of hys pryte  
Whych he Vsed to hys moder / liberalyte to hys susters / bountie to  
hys frendis / a iustyce to all follys / syth they be not vnkowen to  
you. And how Well beloued he Was in our cytee / & cōsarynt made  
aboute hys heere breith suffrevent W<sup>ynes</sup>. What helpeth thēne  
the addyng to of se We yeres vnto Scipio. for sothe age though it  
be not greuous / as I am remembred Caio sayd the yre afore he  
dred in communypen had b<sup>e</sup>idene hym Scipio and me : yet yt  
Eath taken a waye the greenesse and lustynesse Whych Scipio had  
at that tyme. Neuertheles he Was such in lyfe / fortune and gloure  
that there myght nothyng thereunto be added. The hastynesse of  
of hys dyeng toke a waye the felyng of his deith from hym / how  
he d<sup>yd</sup> it is hart to saye / What men beme / ye see Well. Neuerthe  
lesse thys I may Well saye / among all tho dayes Whych Were of  
gretteste worship and gladnes to Scipio / that daye next afore the  
daye of hys deith Whan he departed out of the sytote / & Was con  
duyted and accompanied home W<sup>th</sup> the fabers conscript / W<sup>th</sup>  
the peple of Rome / With they straungers Under they oberstaunce  
and amys

and amptee/and w<sup>th</sup> the latynes: Was to hym the dape of greetest  
 worshyp. And then fro that hyghe degre of astate/ yt semed hym  
 sodeynly to be called by moche rather to the goddes aboue than  
 to the goddes benethe. Ne I can not hold w<sup>th</sup> them whych haue  
 begonne lately the oppnyon/ to holde that the sowles dye w<sup>th</sup>  
 theyre bodyes/ and that deth maketh so an ende of alie attones.  
 for the authorite of folkes of olde tyme ys thereto contrarpe/ w<sup>th</sup>  
 whych I holde greatly/ and w<sup>th</sup> our elders/ whych haue acquy-  
 ted them so relygrouslly to the whych haue deped in theyr tymes/  
 and that they ne wold haue don/ yf they had knowed/ yt had not ap-  
 pertyned in any wyse to them. Dr I hold w<sup>th</sup> the authorite of  
 thym whych haue ben in our cytee/ and somtyme haue w<sup>th</sup> theyr  
 holsum preceptes and lawes/ geuen suffreyent doctryne to great  
 Grece that tyme slowynge/ and nowe wasted and destroyed: or  
 hys authoryte that was called the wysest by Apollo/ whych sayd  
 not nowe thys/ nowe that/ as he dyd in many other thynges/ but  
 alwaye abode ferme in thys sayeng/ that the sowles of mē ben dy-  
 uyne/ and whan they departe from the bodyes/ yf they haue ben  
 good and iuste in theyr lyfynge/ theyr waye vnto heuen ys open  
 and ryght spedy to all suche. And so yt was semed vnto the same  
 Scipio. for ryght a fewe dapes afore that he deped/ whan Phil-  
 lus and Mamilius were present and pour self Scruola a dyuers  
 othre thre dapes to gydre/ he dysputed of oure estate publyk. And  
 the conclusyon was of the immortalte of the soule/ the which he  
 sayde a lerned of Scipio Affrican be dyspon of hys slepe. Then  
 yf yt so be that the soule of euery excellēt good man/ shall depart  
 lyghtly in p lyghtest wyse in his depēg/ as fro p keepng a bondes  
 of p body/ to whom shold we deme p swyfter couree vnto p godde?  
 Was graunted thā vnto Scipio. Wherefore I dare not cōplayn his  
 fortune/ lest that I be thought rather to him enuious thā frendly.  
 Yf other wyse p auenture I were aserde/ lest p deth of p body a p  
 soule were all one/ so surely as there is nothing of good in deth/ so  
 in lyke wyse ther is nothing of euyl in p same. For whan p felynge  
 is goon fro a man/ he were as good he had neuer be borne. Yet we  
 are glad p euer Scipio was borne/ & so shall this cyte be as lōg as  
 it shall endure. Therefore as I sayd aboue/ he is welle deled w<sup>th</sup>  
 all/ & I more inmodyously dely w<sup>th</sup> all than ryght wolde. for  
 sith I entred in to this life afore him/ I shold by reason haue dep-  
 ed afore hym. Nevertheless I vse so ioyously p remembraunce of  
 our frendshyp/ p me semed I lyued prosperously/ for p I haue had  
 a ledde my lyfe w<sup>th</sup> Scipio/ w<sup>th</sup> whō my charge of thynge cō-  
 cernyng our estate publyk & pryuate were euen departed/ & w<sup>th</sup>  
 whom

Whom in Watte & peas Was alway one. And in that Wherin tested  
the grettest force of frendshyp/ our Wylles/ studyes/ & felynge  
were all one. Therefore & vntre w fame of this Wylsedom (Which  
Famius hath remembred me) not so greatly desiryd me/ as both this  
I truste that the remembraunce of the frendshyp brydene me & Sci  
pio shall euer endure. And so moche the more ioyous to me yt ys/  
that in all worldes passed/ vnder this or foure couple of such fre  
des be named/ among Whych I truste that the frendshyp of Sci  
pio Wyls Relius shalbe knowen to all them Whych shall come af  
ter vs. ¶ Famius. ¶ Relius yt must be as ye saie. But syth ye  
haue made mencion of frendshyp/ & that we ben at good leysur: ye  
shall do to me a thyng/ & so I trow to Scruola wonder agreeable/  
namely yf ye shall please as ye were wonte to done in alle other  
thynges of you demaunded/ to dyspute in this mater of frendshyp  
What ye fele/ What ye repute/ & What preceptys ye Wyl geue to &  
same. ¶ Scruola. ¶ It shall be to me ryghte agreeable/ that ye  
so dyspute: Neuerthelesse Famius toke oute of my mouth the  
thyng that I wolde haue sayde. Wherfore not only to Famius  
but to me/ ye shall do a thyng of great pleasur.

¶ Relius. ¶ It shall not greue me so to do/ yf I were assured  
of my selfe. For no doubte the mater ys ryghte notable. And as  
Famius sayth we be at good leysur. But What maner mā am Ie  
or What ys my habyltye? The custumme of lerned men ys this/  
and the grekes haue the same/ to haue a mater purposed vnto  
them. And they reken neuer though yt come sodenly/ vpon the  
Whiche they Wylle dyspute. But that ys a great werke/ and such  
as nedeth not a lpyll excersyce. Wherfore touchynge suche thyn  
ges as maye be dysputed of anyte/ I Wylle aduise you to des  
pyr yt of them/ Whiche take vpon them suche thynges. But  
thus forsothe I maye exhorte you/ that ye preferre ampte/ to for  
alle other humayne thynges. Forsothe there ys no thyng so  
conueniente/ and verely apte to men eyther in prosperite or ad  
uersite. But this I bene syre/ that frendshyp maye not be in  
other than in good folkes. And yet I Will not go so nere & quicke  
as to saie that yt maye not be but in in good folkes. As peraduen  
ture some Wyl so holde/ Whiche enserchyng the mater curpous  
ly/ and peradventure tre Wyl/ but for our wile publyk casely/ they  
denye any man to be good yf he be not Wylse. Well be yt so. But  
thenne they make suche an interpretacion of Wylsedom/ that as yet  
no mortall man coude attayne the lyke thereof. But lette vs take  
hede thereof rather of the thynges that ben in the comune. Vse and  
lyfe of man/ than of such thyng as ben imagyned or desired to be.

For I



For I shall neuer call Wyse Caius Fabicius Marcus Curius  
or Titus Cornucanius/ Whycher our forfaders helde Wyse/ yf I  
shulde folowe that rule/ Wherefore let theym Whych pene such in-  
terpretacion of Wisedom take the name of Wisedom to them self  
the which name is right enuyous and derke/ and let them graunte  
that the sayd persones were good/ and that forsoth they ne shall  
but denye/ that name of goodnesse to be graunted to any/ but to  
Wyse men. And lete vs be more playne and blonte themne such as  
saye/ that they deme them self and theyr lyfe so/ that theyr sayth/  
holpnesse of maners/ felysshyp and lyberalite may be shewed/ and  
that there ys in them no couetyse of worship/ lust/ or vndue har-  
dynes/ but grete stedfastnesse lyke wise as whas in theym whom  
I haue named aboue. Lete vs iuge these good men as they were  
hoden so to be called/ the whiche gete as myche as men may the  
best nature to theyr gude in all theyr lyving. We semeth that we  
be so born/ that there shold be a maner of felysshyp among all per-  
sones. And moche the rather that every man hath inclynacion vnto  
to the same/ So that one cytesen drawe rather to an other/ than  
one straunger to an other. And tho that ben of kynne/ rather than  
tho that ben fer of. For nature her selfe hath brought forth frend-  
shippe in kynrede. But that frendshyppe is not stedfast ynough.  
For frendshyppe is thys myche better than kyndred/ that benyuo-  
lence may be taken from kyndred/ but from frendshyppe yt can  
not but take away benyuoelence/ & themne take awaye the name of  
frendshyppe/ and yet the name of kyndred remainyth. And howe  
great the force of frendshyp is/ by thys it may best be vnderstan-  
den. For among the insynpte compaignie of makynd/ Whych nature  
hath gotten to her selfe/ yt is a thyng so narrowly brought to gy-  
dre and drawen so streyte/ that all maner of loue restyth byndene  
weyne/ or byndene ryght fewe. frendshyp forsothe is nothyng  
ellys but the knyttynge to gydre of that thyng that ys godly/ & of  
that thyng that ys humayne wyth souerayn benyuoelence and cha-  
ryte. And I wote neuer onlesse yt were Wisedome/ what better  
thyng might be graunted vnto man by the goddes immortall. Ne-  
uerthelesse some say/ & rycheesse is better than yt. And some beale/  
and some powde/ and some worship/ and some pleasure. But the  
laste is a beestely oppnyon. And the thynges before/ ben full sy-  
per/ and vncertayne/ and not ony put in our dysposcyone/ but in  
folehardenesse of fortune. They forsoth which putte the byggest  
wele in vertue/ put ryght wele and notably/ and as they shuld do/  
but the self vertue byngeth forth frendshyp and contynueth. For  
frendshyp may be in no Wyse wythout vertue. But now lete vs

make an interpretacion of vertue according to the comune spekyng  
of lypynge. Ne lete vs a mesure it after þe magnificence of wordes as  
though we were greatly lerned our selfe/ but lete vs calle the good  
men/ whych ben holden good/ as Paulos/ Catones/ Catores/ Scipiones and Phyllos. The comune lyfe ys contente wyth them.  
And lete vs forgete them/ that can by no maner be founde in any  
place amonge such men as I reherced byfore. frendshyp hath so  
many opportunitiees/ that I may ennerthe reherce the. And first  
of all/ who is he þe may be see fully in this lyfe (as Ennius sayth)  
that restyth not in the good ioynt or good wyll of some frend. And  
what may be more pleisant thā to haue such a frend/ wyth whom  
ye dare speke as wyth your selfe/ what frute shuld be in thynges  
prosperous/ yf ye ne had some one to enioy of your prosperite as  
greaily as your selfe. And howe hard were yt to suffre thynges  
aduerse/ wythout one whych wolde be sorow for your aduersite  
than your selfe. forsothe other thynges which ben greatly despyed  
ben ryght behoffull euery thyng with other. As richesse for vs:  
plente for reuerence: wysshyp for laude or fame pleasaunce for glad-  
nesse. And heale for to lack payne: and for to vse þe gyftes of þe body.  
But frendshyp cōteyneth many thynges. Whycher so euer ye turne  
you it is redy/ it is put out in no place. for it is neuer slowe/ it is ne-  
uer greuous. Therefore as they say/ we vse not fyre or water or  
ayre in moo place/ thā we vse frendshyp. Ne I speke not now of þe  
vulgate and meane opiniō of frendshyp/ which paduētūre shuld both  
deliuer and profyte/ but of þe frendshyp whych is very and pacyent/ lyke  
to the yis/ which haue ben but fewe in nobilitie. for frendshyp embe-  
lyssyth prosperite/ releueth aduersite/ and is patient to both. But  
by spede the manyfolde great comodities that frendshyp hath in  
hym selfe in thys/ yt dothe excell meruayllously aboue that/ that  
yt dothe in any other/ that ys to saye/ that yt yeueth good hope to  
our lyfe/ whiche we are to lyue/ and suffreth not our myndes ney-  
ther to be enfebled ne ouerthrowen. Also forsothe who so euer  
seeth his frende/ seeth a maner lykenesse of hym selfe. Therefore  
whan they ben absente/ they ben nygh to gyd. And whan they  
ben neddy/ they habound in goodes. And whan they ben feeble/ they  
ben of great force. And that whych is hardest to besure/ whā they  
be dede they lyue/ so great is the desyre/ so great is þe wysshyp/  
so greite is the remembraunce of frendshyp. Wyth that theyr deith  
is thought so blessyd/ and theyr lyfe is thought so wysshypfull.  
And take away from nature the ioynd good wyll of thynges/ and  
neither howe ne cōte/ ne tylye of sonde shall remayne. And yf  
thys be to tyll to vnderstande the force of frendshyp and acorde  
by yt



By yt may be apercepued by hys contrarpe / that is to saye by Varrance and debate. For where may be founde an housholde so stable / or a cyte so ferme : that may not be ouerthrowen by meane of hate and dyscorde. By the whych yt may be sone iuged / how good a thyng frendshipp is. They saye that a man named Agrigentinus / well lerned in the dytees of Grece / by maner of prophesye had this langage / What so euer yt be in the nature of thynges or in all the world / whych hath a naturell mourne / bespyeth his lyke / and fleeth hys contrarpe. And euery naturell man vnderstandeth and pypeth frendshipp. And dyspraiseth a rebuketh enemye. In so moch that whan any man / hath take thoffyce of a frend vpon hym / in adressingye of hym selfe to parent / or in taking part of Jeopardye wth hys frende / who ys he that prayseth not hys dede in the hygheste wyse : What crye and noyse caused the tragedye playd in the hous of myn hoost and my frende Marcus Pacunius whan Thoas there present sought Drestes / and enserched so narrowly / y he cam to y place where he founde twayne of the whych he knewe that he was one / Dylades hys felowe there / toke vpon hym thenne the name of Drestes of full wyll a purpose to dye for hym / And the sayd Dylades Drestes felowe thenne constantly sayeng yet am I he / whych ye haue sought and not Dylades : how glad y peple were whā they sawe this playd and fepned ye knowe well. And how moche more glad trowe we they wold haue ben / if they had seen yt doon in very dede : There nature shewed verely her force / whan tho men whych myght not do it them self / they iuged excellētly well doon in a nother. Dpther to me semeth I haue sayde that whych I my selfe felte of frendshipp. Yf there be any thynges to be sayd ferther / as I trowe there ben many / thēne aske ye of them / whych take vpon them to dyspute sphematers. ¶ **C**amius. ¶ We had leuer here it of you though I haue demaunded / a herde yt of other not aye my wyll. But we loke all after a nother maner thred of your spyning.

¶ **C**euosa. ¶ **C**amius / ye wold moche the rather saye so : yf ye had be p̄sent a lityll afore y deth of Scipio / whā my fader Lelius a he dysputed of our estate publyque / whan he was so great / a so strong a protectour of right wysnesse / aye the studie dreasons of Philus. ¶ **C**amius. ¶ Yt was easy for hym / whych was most iust hym self / to defende the part of iustyce. ¶ **C**euosa. ¶ What saye ye : a why not as lightly frendshipp / by the which he hath got / in the wyng of hym selfe stedfaste a saythfull therin / souerayne glorie. ¶ **C**elius. ¶ Forsothe ye are aboute tenforce me. But yt is but lityll to be take hede of / by what meane ye cōstreyne me.

But no Doubte and ye enforce me / harde yt is & not w<sup>th</sup> equitye  
to w<sup>th</sup> sape your pleasys / wh<sup>ch</sup> be my fornes in lawe / and na-  
mely in that thyng wh<sup>ch</sup> is good. full ofte whan I haue reme-  
myd my self of frendshyp / I haue ben accustomed / to thynke whe-  
ther / that frendshyp shuld be despyed in tyme of feblenesse & nede /  
so that one shuld receiue or geue to a nother / of bene factes to be  
geuen or taken / that thyng that he myghte not atteyne to by hym  
self / and whither this was very due or propre to frendship. But  
me semeth there was a nother cause better / sayet / and more natu-  
rall. And that is loue of whom amptre hath his name / for of amor  
comyth amicia. And that loue is the pyncypall & the chref thyng  
in ioyning of good Will. for profyt is ofte had of them whom we  
worshyp and obserue by the colours of frendship acording to the  
seasons. But in betray frendshyp / there is nothyng feryed or dis-  
sympled. And what someuer is in frendshyp that is trew & volun-  
tary. Wherfore yt semyth me / yt hath his begynnyng rather of na-  
ture / than of nede or indygece / and y<sup>t</sup> it cometh rather of applyng  
of mannes wyl / to y<sup>t</sup> felynge y<sup>t</sup> he hath to loue / than of the thought  
he hath what p<sup>er</sup>te shuld growe therby. for what is yt in yt self /  
yt may be sone espyed in bestys : wherche loueth them that they  
brynge forth for a certayn tyme / and be as well bylourd agayn : so  
that the felynge of frendship is sone apperceyued in suche bestys.  
But moche more euidently in man / frst by that charite and loue  
passyng wherche is brydene the chylderen and fader and moder /  
wh<sup>ch</sup> may not be dysseuered without great & detestable offence.  
Secondly yf there be a lyke felynge in other persons of loue. As  
thus : yf we may geue any man acordinge to our maner & nature /  
of whom we may see y<sup>t</sup> lyght of prowesse & vertue. for no Doubte  
of / there is nothyng more amiable than vertue. for it happeth oft /  
that we loue them / whom we dyd neuer see for theyr vertue and  
proppete. Who is he that vsed not the remembraunce of Carius fa-  
bicius and Marcus Curcius w<sup>th</sup> a maner of charyte & beneuo-  
lence / & yet we neuer sawe them : And there aye / who is he that  
hateth not Tarquinius Superbus / Publius Cassius / & Spuri-  
us Melius : we haue fought w<sup>th</sup> two princes in Italye for the  
soueraynte / and they were Pittus & Damabal. And as touchyng  
the frst we owe hym no great euyl wyl / for y<sup>t</sup> prohibite & y<sup>t</sup> wesse  
wh<sup>ch</sup> we felte in hym. And y<sup>t</sup> secod this cyte shall neuer but hate  
hym for his cruelnesse. Then yf there be so great force in prohibite  
y<sup>t</sup> we loue the / wh<sup>ch</sup> we neuer sawe / & moche more in our enemy /  
what meruayle is yt though the courages of men ben greatly mo-  
ued / whan yt semeth them that they may see vertue and prowesse  
in theyr in

in thepm Wyth Whom they may be samylpre: though loue be con-  
 fermed by benefaytes taken/ and loue vnderstanden/ and ofte sa-  
 mylparpte/ the Whych thynges iorneyd Wyth the fyrste mocyon of  
 corage and loue/ causeth a meruayllous encreas of feruent bene-  
 uolence. Therefore a Who som euer trowe þt procedeth of feble  
 nesse or impotencie/ or that the sayd feblenesse shuld be the meane  
 to attayne to that. Whych they desyre in frendship/ sothly they leue  
 the begynnynge of frendship to humble/ to bare/ and to vndowship-  
 full/ syth that they wyll/ that yt shuld sprynge of wretchydnesse a  
 indygence. And yf that were trewe/ Who so euer were leest of re-  
 putacyon and hauoure/ were most apte to frendshyp. And that ys  
 all other wyse. for so moche more as a mā is moste asured in the  
 most sauagarde of vertue and wysedom/ so that he hath no nede  
 of any other outward helpe/ but thynketh that in hym selfe is alle  
 that he hath nede of: so moche the more is he excellent in frend-  
 shypes to be attayned. What nede had Scipio Affrican to me:  
 forsothe none. Ne I of hym/ but I by a maner of admiracion of  
 hys vertues loued hym. And he haupnge som good oppnyon per-  
 aduenture loued me. And oure custumme and familiarite/ encrea-  
 syd oure beneuolence. And though ryght greate and moche pros-  
 pte ensued to epyther of vs by the same: yet yt was not þ cause  
 that made vs fyrst to loue. for we be lyberall a glad to do good/  
 not for that we loke after a rewarde of duete. for thenne our bene-  
 fayte were grounded vpon vsure. But we be naturallly redy to  
 thadmyngstracyon of freedom. So and in lyke wise we be enduced  
 to blyue/ that frendshyp shuld not be vsed for þ hope of rewarde/  
 but for the fruyte that growed of the same/ a that is loue. Neuer-  
 thelesse I am in all wyse of dyuerse oppnyon from the folkes/  
 Whych after theyre bestely sensualyte/ putte the begynnynge of  
 frendshyp in flesshely luste. And what meruayle ys though they  
 Whych so do/ may see nothyng Whych ys hygher/ worthy to be  
 magnifyed/ or dyuyned/ syth that they sette theyre myndes and  
 thoughtes vpon a thyng so symple and vyle. Therefore lete vs  
 sette a syde all suche from our communycacyon. And lete vs vn-  
 derstande/ that the felyng of loue/ and thentpernesse of good wyll  
 cometh of nature/ Wyth the spangyspynge of prouesse from epyther  
 partye. The Whych spangyspynge of loue Who someuer they be  
 that desyre yt/ they applye them self as nygh as they can/ to suche  
 as they haue bygonne to loue that they may enioye theyr custom-  
 mes and maners: so that they may be euen a egall in maner of lo-  
 uynge/ a more redy to meryte well of theyr frende/ than to aske  
 agayn the thyng that they haue merited well in. Such woryshyp-  
 6 .iii. full

full stryf shuld be alwey brydene theym/that ys to saie. Who so moche do moste for other/ so grete profytes shall growe of thei frendshyp. And this begynnynge of frendshyp/ whiche procedeth of nature shall be more deperhty and verray/ than that which procedeth of nede. for yf so be that profyt shuld be the cause of knyttyng of frendshyp/ whan so euer that profyt faylleth/ frendshyp is loosed. But for as moche as nature may not be chaunged/ the frendshodes whiche growe of nature be most ferme and lengest endureng. Ye see now as ferre as I can she we/ the begynnynge & the fyrst origenall of amytie. Please it you any other thyng.

**C**fannius **E**so forth Elius as ye haue bygdene we praye you. for I may take vpon me to answer lawfully for hym/ & is longer than I. **C**Heuola. **C**Brother ye do not amys/ therefore lette vs here our fader in lawe. **C**Elius.

**R**yght worshypfull somes here now & thynges whiche were ofte dyspyded brydene me a Scipio of frendshyp. Neuerthelesse he sayde full ofte/ that there was nothyng more hard to be byleued/ than that frendshyp might endure bydene & weye vnto thei laste lyfe dayes. for he sayd it happeth ryght ofte & some one thyng is expedient to one/ that is not expedient to that other. Also in thestate publyque/ they varpe in thei oppnyds. There with he sayd the maners of men ben ofte chaunged. Some chaunged thym in thei aduersyte. Some in thei prosperite. Some in thei greuous peres. And that is in thei old age. And he toke his example of his fyrst flouryng ages. Hapeng that some chyldren loue in the byest wyse/ till they come to the age of seuenteen/ and then chaunge. And yf they happen to continue to the peres of force and lustenesse/ either for the loue of wmmen/ or for couetyse of good/ they shall falle at stryf & debate. And that is for that they both may not haue one thyng. And yf they passe that tyme of contynuaunce of frendshyp/ tyll they ben of cyper peres/ yt happeth ofte the same frendshyp to feble and falle/ yf they falle in the in stryfe for worshyp. A gretter soie cannot be in frendshyp/ than they couetyse of good whiche deke men greatly. But the moste hurte of frendshyp ys/ whan they whiche ben moche worshypfull/ stryue for worshyppe and glorie. Of the whiche stryfe moste dedly enemyte hath hapred ofte brydene theym whiche haue ben most frendly. Also we haue seen of great debates for the more parte/ whan some thyng haue ben despyed/ and asked vnrasonably of frendes. As that one wyll praye the other to be a mynystr of hys luste/ or an helpe of hys



of hys wronge. The whyche thyng whan he refuseth to doo/  
though he do so accordynge to worshippe/ yet is he blamed of vni-  
kyndenesse/ and the breache of frendshyppe by suche as wold not  
serue to theire ententes. And whenne they saye/ that there ys no-  
thyng that theire frende wold desyre of theim/ but that they wold  
do yt gladly for theire sakes. So by this olde maner of quarrel-  
lynge/ samylparcye hath not only be sette a fynde/ but also perpe-  
tuall hate hath growen of the same. So Scipio sayde yt seemed  
hym/ how frendshyppe is subgete to so many fautes and parcel-  
lys/ that yt is not only thospyce of a wyseman/ but of a gracypus  
man to fle yt. For so moche thenne lete vs see fyrste/ yf yt shall so  
please you/ how loue shulde procede in frendshyppe. How sup-  
pose ye though Coriobanus had frendes/ shuld they haue betred  
wyth hym agaynst theire owen contrey and cyte. And what Desi-  
linus/ which desired to be a kynge among vs/ or Metius we haue  
seene Tiberius Gracchus weyeng our estate publyque/ forsaken  
of Quintinus Tubero & such other hys frendes. And C. Pla-  
rius a Cuman borne/ And poure hopst Heuola/ whan he cam to  
me that same tyme present Lemates and Rupilius that same tyme  
beyng consules/ prayenge me that I wolde spare hym/ makynge  
hys cause for yf he sette so moche by Gracchus/ that what so euer  
he had commaunded hym to do/ hym thought yt was lef full to hym  
to do the same. Then I asked hym/ if he had commaunded the to  
haue brought fyre to haue brent the capytoule wyth/ woldest thou  
haue doon so/ That wold he neuer do sayd he. But and he had co-  
maunded me so/ I wold haue obeyed hys commaundement. How  
thynke ye was not this a cursyd answer. And forsothe he dyd/  
as he sayde. For he not only obeyed to the folyssh presumption of  
Tiberius Gracchus/ but ther wyth helped yt forth as farre as  
was to hym possyble. So he made not hym self the seruaut of his  
wodenesse/ but ouer that the guyde & the conduytour of the same.  
Therefore hys madnesse was a fressh enquired of/ & he therefore  
fore aserde fledde in to Aspe to our enemyes/ & suffred for yf same  
grecuous & iuste payne. Therefore I say yt is none excuse of syn/  
whan a man sayth he dyd it bycause of his frend. For syth yf vertue  
is yf betray knotte of frendship/ yt is hard for frendshyp to abyde  
whā me depart fro vertue. For if yf we thynke resonable to graunt  
vnto oure fathers all that they wolde haue of vs/ or to desyre of  
theim all yf we wold haue of theim/ lete vs be of so ppyght wyf-  
dom/ yf in our desyres ne theires be no thyng of wyce. But for so  
moche as we speke of suche frendes as we see/ or of suche as we  
remembre that ben here in this comyn lyfe amonge vs/ yt is beste  
we take

We take oure examples of them and in especyall of them/ wherche  
braiden next vnto wysedome. We haue seen Publius Emilius  
ryght conuert saunt and famulyet wyth Lucinius. And as we haue  
vnderstaude by oure faders/ they were twyes called bothe attornē  
to estate and bygnpte. First they were made bothe consullys and  
countrollers of maners. Also it is wyrtyn how Marcus Curius  
and Titus Cornucatius. Were grettly ioynded to these a forsaide in  
frendshyp and good will. And byt wene these twayne that I laste  
spak of was great loue. And yt is not to be demed/ þ any of these  
despyed of hys frende that wherch shuld be cōtrarye to hys sayth/  
to hys promyse/ or to hys estate publyque. What nedeth to speke  
of such thynges of these folkes wherch were so good and holy.  
for yf any man had despyed any such thyng of them/ he wold not  
haue obteyned yt. for it is lyke offence to despye such a thyng/ & to  
accomplish the same despye. What though. Carbo & Cato were  
of the bende of Gracchus & his broder/ yet now he is hys grettest  
enemye. Therefore lete this now in frendshyp be confermed/  
that we despye nothyng of inhoneste/ and though other folkes de-  
spyre suche thynges of vs/ that we agree not thereunto. It ys a  
foule excuse/ & in no wyse to be resceyued/ ne in that that touched  
oure estate publyque/ ne yet in smaller offences/ whan one sayth/  
that for my frendes sake I did amys. But we be brought to that  
plyghte Hannius and Seneca/ that we haue great nede to forsee  
ryght well/ what shall nede to our estate publyque. for the good  
customnes of our oiders ben grettly sette a syde/ out of the place  
and waye that they were in. Titus Gracchus peyned hym selfe  
to be a kynge and reygne vpon vs. And yf I shall saye more true  
ly he reygned/ though yt were but fe we monethes. The peple of  
Rome had not herd ne seyn a lyke thyng. And Gracchus frende  
and kynnesmen after hys deeth folowed hys steppes. I may not  
telle you wythout terys/ what they dyde agaynst Publius Sci-  
pio. We endured Carbo of the wherche we spak ryght now/ for the  
new & fresshe payn/ þ Titus Gracchus suffred. What we shulde  
loke after for þ offyce of trybune/ þ Caius Gracchus occuppeth/  
me lyst not to drupne. But I se wel the thyng crepeth/ the which  
whan yt hath ones be begonne/ yt fallp to redy destruccyō. Be  
ye not in your myndes the spotte wherch is in the table before that  
it is made first caused of the lawe wherche Gabinus made. And  
wythin two yere by the lawe that Cassius made/ me semeth that  
I se the peple dysseuered from the senate and the grettest thyng  
longynge to our estate publyque executyd after the wyll of the  
multytude that wyll haue them. And ther be mo that shall lerne/  
how



how such thynges shold be practysed/ then how they shuld be let-  
ted. But to what entente say I thus: but for this cause/ that I  
wote well there is no man/ that wyl attempte so greute workes/  
but he be sure of many felawes to assyste hym. Therefore those  
whych ben good/ shulde be aduertysed/ that yf they fallen in wy-  
tyngly of ignorance in such maner of felawshyppe/ that they shold  
not trowe the self so bounden to such frendys/ that if they trespase  
agaynst our estate publyque/ y they ne shuld depart from them.  
for payne is alway due to them that offende. And yt is no lesse  
due to them y be they felawes and parteners in the same Cryme/  
than vnto them that were they leders and setters on. Who was  
cleerer & more myghty in Grece than Themistocles whan he was  
Emperoure: he deliuered all Grece of sercitude/ by the batayle  
whych he hadde agaynst them of Perse. Afterward for enuy/  
whan he was put in exyle/ he suffred not the wronge of hys En-  
hynde contrey/ y whych he shuld in all wyse haue suffred/ but dyd  
in lyke wyse there/ as Coniulianus dyd here wth vs not trowyng  
pore a goo/ that coude not fynde one of hys Cytezens/ y wolde  
heipe hym in the warre agaynst hys owen contrey/ And therefore  
eithere of them slough wilfully hym selfe. Wherefore such conspy-  
racye of them that be noughty/ is not to be couerd & closed by the  
cuse of frendship/ but moche rather to be auenged of that. No mā  
shuld trowe y yt is suffred or graunted/ that one frende shuld helpe  
a nother by colour of frendshyppe/ whych wolde werre vnto his  
owen comrey. for there be but fewe men y knowen whan a thyng  
is begonne/ what thende & thissue of the same shall be. But as for  
me I take no lesse care to thynke what oure estate publyque shall  
be after my deth/ than I do thynke what yt is at this daye.



Denne lete this fyrste lawe of frendshyppe be  
tablyshed/ that we desyre nothyng of oure fre-  
nds but that is worshipfull: ne do no thyng  
for theyr sakes/ but such as is acordyng to wor-  
shyppe. And if we knowe any such thyng/ lete vs  
not tarpe tyll we be prayed: but lete our mynde  
and studie be set all vpon yt/ setting all taryng  
a syde: lete vs be glad to gyue them trewe counsaill freely. for  
the authoryte of frendes in that whych they aduise well/ helpeth  
greatly in frendshyppe. And sometyme we shulde aduertise  
them not openly/ but there wth sharply yf the caas requyre yt/  
And they shulde obeye suche counsaills dyligently. for I trowe  
dyuerse thynges cryghte meruelous haue ben thoughte good/ to  
suche men as among the grekes haue be callid cryght wyse. But  
there

there is nothyng/ & they ne fynde some faute in by theyre wylls.  
Some of them wolde/ that a man shold eschew ouer great plentie  
of frendes/ lest he alone sholde be dyspuz of necessitye to take care  
for many. It is ynough and to moche somtyme they saye/ to take  
hede to that whych belongeth to a man hym self/ And to paynfull  
to be medelous in other mennes maters. And moste behouefull to  
haue a slacke reyne vpon frendshippe/ that whan one wyll he may  
restrayne yt or lete yt lose at hys playse. And they say/ the beste  
thyng that may be to lyue welefully/ is to be vnder of care/ And  
that maye not a man be/ that trauaylleth and dyspyth hys mynde  
for many. And some I here say speke more vncurtaply (to wych  
I haue somwhat sayde sharply to fore) They saye that friend-  
shippe shold not be sought for the getyng of loue and good wyll.  
But as euery man is weykest & of leste power/ so sholde he seke  
grettest frendshyppe/ or the frendshyppe of grettest men. And  
by thys meane as I trowe sely wyemen shuld rather desyre the  
helpe of frendshyppe than men. And also they that were nedry/ ra-  
ther than they that were ryche/ and they that were wretchyd/ than  
they that were welefull. A lorde what thys is a noble wysedom.  
forsothe they are aboute to take the soune out of the fyament/  
that wolde take frendshyppe fro the lyfe of man/ sythe we haue  
nothyng graunted vnto vs of god in thys lyfe better or more  
iourous. What ys thys quyetenes of spyrte that they speke of?  
At the fyrst syght yt is blandysynge. But in veray dede in many  
tymes & many places/ yt is vicerly to be sette a syde. Ne yt is not  
accordyng/ that there shold be ony worschypfull thyng or dede that  
ye coude take vpon you/ or whan ye had yt to set it a syde wthout  
care and laboure of the mynde. for yf we wyll slee care/ we must  
flee vertue. And vertue must nedes haue some care to set a syde  
thyngs contrarie to hym: as bounte to sette a syde malice: at-  
temperance luste/ and force sluggysshnes. And that ys the cause  
that we see that they that be ryghte wyse/ ben moste soze for the  
thynges whych be doon vncyghtwysly/ And they that ben strong  
for thynges doon vnlystely. And they that ben temperate for  
thynges doon vncyously. And therefore yt is very propre to hym  
that hath a well dysposed courage/ to be glad whan he seeth thynges  
well doon/ and to be soze for the contrarie. Then thus/ yf a wyse  
man may be soze/ the whych must be nedes trewe on lesse that we  
wyll trowe that there is no curtesye in any wyse mannes breste/  
what is the cause that we shuld sette a syde frendshyp/ so that we  
shulde suffre no payne ne dyscase therof/ yf that we take fro man  
the moeyng of hys thoughtes/ we shall not ony take away the  
dyfference

.x.

Byfference that is byt wene hym and a beste / But there wylth the byf  
 ference that is byt wene hym a a stoke or a stone / or any lyke thyng.  
 Ne they shold not be herd that saye that Vertue is hard and as yt  
 were made of yron. for as yt is in many other thynges / so is yt in  
 especyall in frendshyp bothe tendre and terrible / So that for the  
 wile of a mannes frende one enioyeth / and for hys aduersyte he  
 soroweth. Therefore thys payne that is to be taken for oure fren-  
 des / suffyseth not to bysseuer frendshyp fro the lyfe of man / no  
 more than Vertues for that they can not be had without labour &  
 payne / shulde be by all men refused. And sythen Vertue somtyme  
 maketh frendshyp to kepe her wylth in her selfe as I sayd afore /  
 yf there be any tokene of Vertue the whiche maye appere / to the  
 whych the corage may applye and ioyne / as sone as euer he atteps  
 neth vnto yt / yt must nedys be that loue therof sprynge & growe.  
 What may be more soyle than the despyte in many payne thyng /  
 as in honour / and glorie / in bydyng / in clothyng / and in the ar-  
 ray of the body / and not to despyte in corage enpyched with Vertue /  
 which may loue / & may be reclaimd to lyue Vertuously. There  
 is nothyng more pleasaunt / than the reward for good wylth / or the  
 nyghnes of studyes and scrupablenes. And yf we adde thys to  
 that whych may ryght well be added / that is to say / yf there is no  
 thyng that draweth any thyng vnto yt / ne that holdeth yt faster /  
 than lyblenes draweth frendshyp / yt shall be graunted forsothe as  
 for trouth / that they whych ben good / loue good folk / and ioyne  
 them vnto the / as if they were knytte vnto the in knynde and na-  
 ture. forsothe there is nothyng more despyous of his lyke & sem-  
 biable : or more cacchynge than is nature. Therefore Xammus and  
 Heculoa I trouwe verily that this is certayne / that among them  
 that ben good / there is a maner of necessarye beneuolence / yf which  
 is a veray naturall wile of frendshyppe. But thys same bounte  
 bysongeth also to the multytude of the people. for Vertue ys ney-  
 ther vncurteyse ne rewardeles / ne proude / whiche ys wonte al-  
 way in the beste wyse to consayll and to defende alle maner of  
 people. And that / Vertue shulde not doo / yf she estreaunged her  
 selfe fro the loue of the communyte. Also me semeth that they  
 whiche wylth foume frendshyppe after the shappe of profyete /  
 they ben aboute to take awaye the moste anyable knotte of frend-  
 shyppe. for the profyete that ys gotten by a mannes frende /  
 ys not so delectable vnto hym / as the loue of hys frende. for  
 ethenne that / whiche cometh of hys frende ys ioyous vnto hym /  
 whan he knoweth that yt cometh of loue. And as gretly me thyn-  
 keth byscordynge wylth reason / that frendshyppe shulde only be

Used for profyte / ymms they Whiche habounde in all cycheffe and  
power / and in especiall in Vertue (in Whiche is grettest spheynesse)  
quid they I saye Whiche haue lesse nede of any mannes helpe / be  
moste lybertall / and gladdest to do good dedes. And as farre as I  
knowe / there lacketh nothyng amonge frendes. For after that the  
loue of frendshyp grewe bywene me and Scipio / though he had  
no nede of my counsaile or my helpe / yether oute ward or at home /  
yet the frendshyppes shuld not haue ben the lasse. For thys I say  
you y frendshyp foloweth not ppyte / but profyte foloweth frend  
shyp. But tho men ben not to be harde Whiche folowe in desyres /  
Whan that they wyll speke of frendshyp / of the Whiche they haue  
neither vse ne knowlege. For who ys that / that neyther couereth  
ne loueth any other man / ne is byloued of any other man / though  
he had habundaunce of all other thynges / and were sette in moste  
fulsom plente / how shuld he lyue in thys lyfe y I spake of / suche  
lyfe is in tyauntes / in Whom is no fayth ne loue / ne there may be  
in them y stablenesse of beneuolence or any truste / for they haue eue  
ry thyng suspecte / and ben full of thoughte and care. There ys  
nothyng ne no place in them for frendshyp. Neuerthelesse they be  
worshyppyd for y tyme and dyssembled wyth all. For who shuld  
loue hym / that is dradde of all me / and dredieth all men hym selfe  
And yf it fortune as yt happeth ofte / that they fall from theyr es-  
tate : thenne yt is well vnderstande how greate nede they haue of  
frendshyp. As yt is remembryd that Tarquinius sayde whan he  
was in hys exyle / that he vnderstode not Whom he myght truste /  
ne Whom he myght mystruste. And therefore he myght thynke alle  
men lyke. And yet I meruayll that the pryde of thys Tarquini-  
us and hys importunyte caused hym that he had any frende. And  
as one man of hys maners myght haue no frendes / so cycheffe &  
power of them that be greatly myghty / exclude trusty frendshyp  
pes. For fortune her self is not only blynde / but she also oftymes  
makyth blynde / such as be her seruautys and clymbe vp to estate  
wyth lothnesse and cotumace of all people. And there is nothyng  
more intollerable / than a fortunate foole. And y may sone be seen  
by them that haue ben passynge cyche / that whan they haue be set  
in hyghe estate / power and dygnyte / theyr condycions haue ben  
clene chaunged. And they haue forsaken theyr olde frendes / and  
taken theym to newe. What may be a more sonnysh thyng than  
Whan men haue great plente of cycheffe / to purueye suche thynges  
as they do / y is to save moneye / horses / stately householdes / cyche  
clothyng / precous plate / and forgete to pourueye the of frende /  
Whiche ys beste and the fayrest ornament that any man may haue  
in thys



in this lyfe. for when they purueye the sayd thynges þ I spake  
of byfore / they wote not for whoos vse they purueye / ne for  
whoos sake they take that labour vpon them. for all such thynges  
fall for the more partye in to theyr handes that be most myghty.  
But the possessiouns of frendshyppe abyde certayn and stable to  
euery man. And though the goodes of fortune abyde wth a man  
durynge his lyfe / wthoute frendshyp his lyfe may nether be  
fructifull ne mercy. And this suffyseth as hysderro.



**R**ason wold now that we put thendes & bound  
des of frendshyp / lyke as they were þ termes  
and boundes of loue. Of the whiche I haue  
vnderstande thre oppyns. And of them I ap  
proue neuer one. One ys that we shulde loue  
our frende lyke affectuouly as our self. A no  
ther that our beneuolence agaynst our frende  
may answere euently to the beneuolence whych they bare agaynst  
vs. The thyrde / that who someuer maketh moche of hym selfe /  
so moche he shulde be made of by his frends. And I can not agre  
wth none of these thre oppyns / ne the fyrst of them is trewe.  
for there be many thynges whych we wyl not do for oure selfe /  
that we do for our frendes. That is to say praye hym so wylly that  
is byneth vs / or to speke sharply or to blame hym greatly / þ which  
thynges be not honeste in our owen causes / and ben most honeste  
in þ causes of our frends. There be also many thynges / in which  
well disposed persones take away moche of theyre owen profites  
and suffice to be taken away / for that theyre frendes shuld vse the  
to theyre pleasure / rather than them selfe. That other oppyn  
ys / whych byffyneth frendship by paylyte of duete and playser.  
And forsothe that is to shante to calle his frende so wychedly to  
a counte / that the reason of that whych is to be taken / and þ which  
is to be geuen be euen. But veray frendshyp as yt semeth me / is  
rather and more plentypouse. for that taketh not so streyte heed /  
that there be geuen no more than be taken. Ne that fereth not to  
greatly / leste that any thyng exceede and falle be syde / or þ ought  
be geuen to a frende more than is nedefull and euen. The thyrde  
terme or ende that they sette ys worste of alle. And that ys howe  
moche a man maketh of hym selfe / so moche he shulde be made  
of by his frende. for ofte yt happeth that some persones haue  
not so noble & so hye courage as some haue / ne that they haue not  
so ferme hope of thence of fortune as som haue. Therefore yt  
sytteth not a frende to be such one agaynst an other man / as he  
is agaynst hym selfe / but rather to payne hym selfe / and to do so /

that he mape lyfte by the lowe courage of hys frende/and mape  
byngge hym better hope and more quicke remembraunce. But  
we muste sympte an other ende to very frendshyp. But fyrste I  
shall tell you what Scipio was wite most to requieue. He sayd/  
there myght in no wyse nothyng be thought more full of enemye  
than the Dops of hym/whych sayd that a man shuld loue in suche  
wyse that yt shall happe hym somtyme to hate in the same place:  
ne he coude not byleue that Vras shulde sape so/whych was so  
wyse holde and one of the seuen wyse (howe be yt men trowed  
so) but that rather yt shuld be the sapenge of some other impure &  
ambycious persone/ or of suche one that wolde haue called alle  
thyng to hys power. for in what wyse shold one be frende vnto  
hym/whom he hath in a wayte/and troweth at way he shuld be his  
enemye: furthermore yt shulde be necessarye to such a man to co-  
uerpte and desyre to take hys frende ofte wyth defawtes/ that he  
mape haue gretter cause to chide hym. And besyde that it must ne-  
deys folowe/that they shulde ofte take dyspleasauntty and sorowe  
and enuye/whan they frende doth well and is in his welle. Ther-  
fore that precept who so euer gaf yt/ was good to sette frendshyp  
a syde. He shold rather haue commaunded that we shulde haue  
put to our dysgrees to haue gotten many frendes/lest we shulde  
happen to loue some one/whō we shuld hate sone after. And Sci-  
pio thought that yf we were not all the most happy vnto frendes/  
we shulde rather suffre yt paciently/than thynke vpon the tyme  
whan we shuld be theyr enemyes. Therefore I trowe we shulde  
use and take this for the symptes and boundes of frendshyppe/  
that whan the maners of oure frendes ben good/that we shold co-  
mune then wyth them all our counsaile thynges & pleasys with-  
oute any excepcyon: that yf yt shall happe by any fortune/ & they  
pleasys whych ben not all the moste lpeffull be to beholpen/ or  
in theym the pcept of worship and fame dependeth/yt ys themne  
for a frende to kepe hym selfe absente/yf & he see that great shame  
shuld folow therof. for though & errour of a mā may be pardon-  
ned/in that that he doth for hys frende/ yet a mannes owne fame  
shuld neuer be forgotten. The beneuolence of people must nedes  
by trowed a great helpe/for the speede of promocyon of thynges/  
And yet to gete the same beneuolence by meane of flattery and as-  
sentacyon/ys eyght fowle and shamefull. Vertue whom charity  
foloweth/is not to be sette a syde. But now I tourne agayne to  
Scipio/whose speche in substaunce was all of frendshyp. for he  
complained greatly that men were moche more dyslygent in alle  
maner of thynges than in chesynge of frendes. for euery man coulde  
tell how



tell howe many sheep/ and howe many gete he hadde. But howe  
 many frendes they hadde / they coude not tell. And to gete to  
 them greate plente of bestaylle / they toke great laboure & payne :  
 but in getyng of frendes / they she wed them slowe and neglygent  
 And byfore that they shold bye theyre brestys / they had certayne  
 markes to knowe whether they were good or noo. But in che-  
 syng of frendes / they can not take suche markes to knowe which  
 be to truste and chose and whiche not. Nevertlesse lete vs say  
 that they whiche be stable ferme and constaunte ben to be chosen  
 for frendes. Of whiche maner of people / there is greate scarcety  
 And certayn yt is ryght harde for any man onlesse he be experie /  
 to dyscerne well in suche chesynges. for a man muste take experi-  
 ence in the selfe tyme of frendshyppe / and that is passyng harde.  
 for frendshyppe suffreth no suche assaye. It belongeth therfore a  
 wyse man to suffre the force of beneuolence such as he shuld vse /  
 as he suffreth hys shyppe to saylle. And assaye the maners of his  
 frendes in maner as he that assayeth hys shyppe in a tempeste.  
 Homme ben sone espyed in lypyl habundaunce / howe lyght they  
 be. And some that wyl not be meyd in lypyl thyngis ben knowe  
 in gretter. It may happen some men to be founden / y wyl deme  
 yt a fowle thyng to sette more by money than by frendshyppe.  
 But where shall we fynde them whiche wyl not sette more by  
 worshyppe / gouernaunce / souerayntes / power / and habundaunce  
 of goodes / than by frendshyppe? So that yf thys thynges a for-  
 sayd were sette on that one syde of a man / and frendshyppe on that  
 other syde / who wolde not chese rather the one than the tother?  
 for sothe nature ys to weack to flee the desyre of power and wor-  
 shyppe. And though men somtyme forgete frendshyppe to attayne  
 to a gretter authoryte / they trove them selfe in that byualue to  
 fynde a good excuse / whyle that they may saye that they forgete  
 not frendshyppe / but for a greate and a worthy cause. Therefore  
 no doubt of / yt is passyng harde to fynde verrey frendshyppe in  
 theym whiche ben conuersaunt in hys courtes or in chastyte pub-  
 lyque. for where may we fynde hym y wyl rather put his frende  
 to worshyppe than hym selfe. And to set a syde all such thynges /  
 howe greuous and howe harde yt is semed to many to entre frend-  
 shyppe wyth them whiche be in aduersyte. Ennius sayde truly /  
 whan he sayde a sure frende ys knowen in vncertayne seasons.  
 But there ben two thynges whiche proue in many men lyghtnes  
 and insucrenesse : and that is whan they despyse theyre frende for  
 psperte / or forsake hym in aduersyte. Therefore who so cnet can in-  
 teryer of two thynges shew hym selfe wyth / stable / & constāt in  
 frendshyp

friendshipp/ We may iudge hym of that kynrede of men whych ys  
moſte ſeldom founde. I had almoſt ſayd that he is comen of god=  
des. fapth is foundament or ſpkerneſſe of the ſtableneſſe and con=  
ſtaunce that we ſeken in friendſhyype. for there is nothyng ſtable  
that is ſepthleſſe. It is thenne conuenyent to cheſe a frende ſuch as  
is not double/ and can take proſperyte and aduerſyte in commune  
wpyth hym that cheſerh hym/ & can conſente wpyth hym in ſpyrnyng/  
and that can be meurd to lyke thynges as he is meurd. for a cro=  
ked and a varyaunt wpytte may neuer be fapthfull. Ne he whych  
is not meurd to do ſuche thynges as hys frende is meurd to do/  
nor hath a lyke dyſpoſycon in nature/ may nerther be ſeker nor  
ſtable. And we may adde to thys/ that a frende ſhould not deſpyte in  
complayntes to be broughte vnto hym/ or yewe credence to ſuche  
as be brought vnto hym. All the which thyngs apperteyne to that  
conſtaunce that I ſpake of ryght nowe. And ſo yt is trewe that I  
ſayde in þe begynnynge/ how friendſhyy may not be/ but byt wene  
ſuche as ben good. It ſpytyth a good man/ whom we maye calle a  
wyſe man/ to kepe two thynges in friendſhip. The fyrſt thyng is  
that there be nothyng ſayned ne dyſſymuled. for yt ſpyteth rather  
a worſhyyfull perſone rather to ſhe we hys dyſpleaſaunce & hate  
openly/ than to hyde it wpyth a ſleght loken. The ſeconde is that a  
man ſhuld not onely ſet a ſyde ſuch complayntes as be brought to  
hym of his frend/ but ther wpyth ſette a ſyde all ſuch ſuſpycon as  
he myght haue of hys frende/ by the which he ſhould moode trowe  
that friendſhyy were hurte or deſoylled. Alſo there hath nede to be  
byt wene frendes a maner of ſwetneſſe of ſpeche and maners/ the  
whych thyng maketh friendſhyy nat a lpytall the more ſauety. for  
ſorowde and ſeuertye ben in all wyſes to be eſchewed in friendſhip.  
for ſeuertye hath greuouſneſſe ioynd wpyth hym. And friendſhyy  
ſhuld be more cempſſe/ more free/ & ſwetter/ and more cedy to all  
benygnyte and ſaclyte of maners. But now in thys place there  
is a lpytall hard queſtyon. Whether that newe frendes and ſuch as  
be worthy the name of friendſhip/ be to be preferred before a man  
nes olde frendes/ as we are not wonte rather to cheſe coltes/ than  
horſes of ſeuē yere for our ryding. But there ſhould no mā double  
in thys. for there is not ſuch fullſomneſſe in friendſhyy / as there  
is in other thynges. for friendſhyy ſaceth as wyne/ whych may be  
kept many yeres. for the elder þe the wyne is/ the more pleaſaunt  
yt is in drynkyng. And ſothe yt is that is ſayd/ how men maye ete  
many buſſhellis of ſalt/ or they paſſyt or accōpſſhe they: but ye  
of friendſhyy. The nouelties of friendſhip ſhould not be forſaken/  
yf þe they be ſuch as a man may hope well of: no more than newe  
ſerbes

herbes/ Whych deceyue not men of such feynt as they shall byng  
 forth. But thanpquyte of frendshyp shuld be kepte alway in his  
 owne place. for the force of antiquyte and custumne ys alwaye  
 gretteft pf no thyng leste yt/ as I made mencyon ryght nowe of  
 the hois. for there ys no man but hadde leuer ryde vpon an hois  
 that ys broken and knoweth his hond on the bydle/ than vpon that  
 whych ys not broken or on whose baki he cam neuer byfore. So  
 custumne hath great strength/ not only in bestes/ but also in thyn-  
 ges whych haue no felyng. for we delpte vs in holy places and  
 suche as ben sette in woodes/ in whych we haue longe dwellyd.  
 But the chiefe thyng that is in frendshyp is whan he that is in su-  
 perpoynte/ lyeth to make hym self egall wth hys frendes. Of-  
 tyme there ben certayne excellences suche as Scipio had in oure  
 compaign. And yet he putte Philus and Rutilius/ and Nummi-  
 us euer afore hym/ and byuerse other of his frendes whych were  
 of lower estate. And he worshyppyd Quintus hys eldest broder  
 whych was nothyng lyke hym/ as hys better by reason of hys  
 age. And he coueyted to haue all his frendes in grette reuerence  
 and in more ample estate than hym selfe. In whych thyng euery  
 man shulde folowe Scipio/ that yf they haue gotten the premy-  
 nence of Vertue / of nature / or fortune / they shulde departe yt  
 wth theyre frendes and commune wth them that ben nexte to  
 them. As yf they be borne of lowe kynne/ or yf they haue weake  
 frendes/ they shulde encreace by meane of counsaill/ or by meane  
 of lyberalite encrease theyre hauours. As yt ys tolde in the fa-  
 bles/ howe certayne men were resceyued in to seruaunte / theyre  
 byrthe and kynne vnknoen. And at laste whan yt was founden  
 and they knowen for the sones of goddes or kynges/ yet kept they  
 theyre fauoure and good wyll to suche shepherdes as they toke  
 for theyre faders many yeres passyd. The whych thyng ys  
 moche rather to be doo / agaynste suche as haue faders knowen  
 and certayne. The gretteft feynt of naturall Vertue and all ex-  
 cellence ys thenne taken/ whan yt is geuen and departed to them  
 that be next in frendshyppe and good wyll. As they that ben so-  
 uerayns/ in the nychtynesse of frendshyppe and good wyll/ shoulde  
 make them selfe egall wth them that ben lower than they/ so  
 that they that be byneth them haue no cause to sorowe / that  
 they be ouercomen by theyre frendes / in wysedome / fortune / or  
 estate. Of the whych for the more parte / manye complayne  
 vpon suche thynges/ or reioyce theyre frendes therewith. And  
 so moche rather they thynke theyre frendes so moche more byhol-  
 den to them/ that they maye telle howe stouppysly/ howe frende-  
 ly and

ly and laborously they haue doon for theym. In good trouthe yt  
is an hatefull maner of men/ Whiche lyfte ofte to caste in theire  
frendes treeth suche thynges as they do for theym. For he that re  
cepueth suche benefaytes shulde remembre / and not he that gaf  
theym. Therefore they that are the soueraynes/ owe to submytte  
theym selfe in frendshyppe/ and in maner exalte theym Whiche  
Ben to we than them selfe. But there ben some that maken frend  
shyppe ryghte greuously / Whan they trowe that men sette lytle  
by theym. And that happeth not communely/ but in such as trowe  
theym selfe that they shulde be lytell sette by. And they shulde  
be eased of that oppnyon/ not only in wordys but in dede. We  
shulde yelde vnto every frende/ fyrste as moche as he myght suf  
feyne and receyue/ Whom we loue and wyll helpe. For we maye  
not do vnto oure frendes by our meanes ouer moche ample wor  
shippes. As Scipio Whiche myghte by hys meanes make Pu  
blus Rutilius consul / but he myghte not make hys brother Lu  
cius so. And What yf we myghte do so to any other / yet yt ys to  
be seen / Whether he maye well take yt vpon hym. The iudge  
ment of frendshyppe shulde alwaye be hadde / Whan the wyttes  
of the ages of men ben in grettest force / and moste hole and spker.  
For yt ys not spede full that yf any chyldren in the tendrenesse  
of theyr yeres haue lyke courage and dysposycon / to pleyenge  
atte tenper or humyng / that they shulde haue theym moste nygh  
of courage / and in chylf fauoure Whiche Ben of semblable de  
sires and studyes. For by that reason nouyces and Scolemars  
tres by reason of olde scrupse muste after benyuolence ryght lar  
gely. And they shuld not be forgotten / but there ys a maner in the  
chere shynge of theym wythoute comfympte of maners. For  
than frendshyppe may not be stable. For the dyscrepante of maners  
causeth the dyscrepante of loues. For as sympletyude ioyneith frend  
shippes / so dyspletyude dysseuereth them. And yt is for none  
other cause that good men may neuer be frendes wyth such as be  
noughty / but for that that there is so great a dysstaunce or dysferece  
bytweene theyr maners and studyes. Also it may be a good precept  
in þe lawe of frendshyp / that no man by a maner of hys inteprete  
benyuolence sette the great wele that shold growe to his frendes.  
For yf I shall turne agayn to fables / Neptolomius myght neuer  
haue done T rope / yf he wold haue herde Licomedes / in whose  
house he was nouysshed / Whych laboured wyth shednyng of many  
teerps / to haue letted his purpose. And oftymes great thyngs hap  
pe casuelly to make me depte fro theyr freed. And many chese for  
to depte rather tha they shold be letted of theyr purpose / without  
heryng



herynge of theire frendes/leste yf they herde them they could not  
 save naye to theire despyres. And such a man who so euer he be/is of  
 ouer frapyl and ouer softe a nature. And for that cause he is not  
 veray iuste in frendshyppe. But yt is to be considered in euery  
 thyng/ what we aske of our frende/ and what we wyll suffre to  
 be asked of our selfe. There is also a certayn calamyte or obscu-  
 rpte full of tynes necessarie in departing of frendshypps. But  
 now oure speche ys and shall fall from þ sampylarptees of wyse  
 men to comune frendshyphedes. The saydes of frendes breke out  
 and shewe as well to them which be ioynd to them in frendshyp  
 as to other folkes in the dysclaundre therof / a redounde not only  
 vnto them whych haue the same vices/ but also to them whych be  
 theire frendes. And suche frendshypps shulde be eased lytll  
 and lytle by slacknesse of custonne and samplarypte. And as I  
 haue herd Cato saye/ they shulde rather be vntyppd than cente  
 asondre/ onlesse that suche wronge as maye not be suffred/ dysse-  
 uere the sayde frendshyp/ so that yt shulde be thoughte neyther re-  
 sonable ne worshipfull/ ne that yt myghte be other wyse/ but that  
 the sayde estreaungyng and dysiunccyon muste forthwith be made.  
 But take me now as I sayde a lytll byfore / that I speke not  
 now of the frendshyppes of wyse men/ but of the comune frend-  
 shyppes. Yf there happen to be a maner of chaung in maners and  
 studyes/as yt happeth ofte for such debate as fallerth in þ parties  
 of oure estate publyque/yt is to be taken hede of leste these frend-  
 shyppes only be not sayde a parte/ but leste that great enemytees  
 be taken in honde and bygonne. And yet there is nothyng forsothe  
 more fowle than to make warre wyth hym/ wyth whom we haue  
 lyued alway byfore samplary. Ye knowe well howe Scipio de-  
 parted from the frendshyp of Quintus Pompeius for my sake/  
 and howe he was estreaunged from his felowe named Metellus/  
 for such debate as was in our estate publyque. And he dyd in both  
 thynges wyttly/ & by no sharp authorite or offencyon of his cou-  
 rage. But therefore I saye/ we shuld take great hede/ þ there fall  
 no debates amōg our frendes. And yf ther happē any such thyng/  
 we shuld labour þ frendship shuld rather be softly quenched than  
 oppressd. We shuld in all wyse be ware/ leste great frendshippes  
 toine the selfe in to great enemytees/ of þ whych/ debates/ cursed  
 wordys & styques ensewe. Neuertheles yf they be tolerable/ they  
 must be suffred. And we shuld geue this worship to old frendshyp/  
 þ he be thought rather in þ blame þ both þ wydg/ thā he þ suffereth  
 it. There is one promysyon & one meane to be ware of all such dys-  
 ces & incommodytees. And that is that we be not to hasty in the set-

thyng of our loue/ ne that we loue suche/ as be not worthy to be  
loued. They ben worthy of frendshyp in whom there be worship  
full causes which shold make vs to loue them. But they be seide  
founden/ and so be all thynges whych be worshipfull. And there  
ys nothyng more harde to fynde than that whych is parfit in his  
owen kynde in euery behauior. But for the more parte men lyfte  
to call nothyng good in humayne thynges/ but such as is fructe  
full. And so they loue theyr frende as they loue theyr bestis. For  
such as they suppose they shall haue moste fructe of/ the they che  
erfullye moste. And therfore they lacke the moste naturell & fayrest  
frendshyp/ whych ys not to be despyred but by yt selfe. This ys  
the very force of frendshyp and the qualyte and the quantyte of  
the same. Euery mā loueth hym self/ and loketh after no rewarde  
for his loue/ for euery man for his owen sake is here ynough to  
hym selfe. And onlesse that the sayd and the same deteneffe a loue  
may be vsed in frendshyp/ a betray frend shall neuer be founde.  
For he is as though yt were a nother ike same. And yf that appe  
erth in bestys and fowles bredyng in the woodes/ or in the wa  
ters tame or wyde/ that first they loue theym selfe (for that ys a  
thyng that is gyven vnto eueryche that hath lyf) secundly that  
they seke and desyre such bestys as they wold couple them selfe  
wth and be of the same kynde/ and that they do wth grete de  
spyre and with a maner of lykenesse of the loue of men: how moche  
more is yt caused by nature in a man/ that he shold loue hym selfe/  
and gete hym a nother whose wyll he shold medly wth his/ that  
of thot weyne he shold make well nygh one. But many men full  
cursedly/ I wyll not saye vnshamefastly/ wyll haue a frende as  
they can not be suche one them selfe. And they desyre of theyr  
frendes such thynges/ as they wold not departe wth them selfe  
at theyr frendes desyre. It ys resonable that a man firste make  
hym selfe a good man/ and thenne seke a nother lyke hym selfe.  
And in such twayne that stablenesse of frendshyp that we tete of  
byfore may be confermed/ whan men ioynded to gyde in beneuo  
lence can gete the soueraynte of suche lustes as other men be ser  
uauntes vnto/ and sette theyr ioye in equitye and iustyce. Thenne  
that one shall haue of that other/ but that whych is crabituouse &  
worshipfull. Ne they shall not ony eithre of the worship other/  
but ther wth they shall loue to gyders wth a maner of shame  
fastnesse. For who so euer taketh away shamefastnesse from frend  
shyppe/ taketh away the grettest ornament that frendshyp hath.  
Therefore there is great and malycious errour in them/ whych  
trow surely that frendshyp gyueth freedom and lyberte to all luste.  
And



And frendshyp is ordeyned by nature to be the helper of Vertue & not the felowe to dyce. For as solitarie Vertue maye not yt selfe attayne to such thynges as be hyghest/ but ioynded and felowshyp- ped w<sup>th</sup> other yt may attayne / the whiche felowshyp yf yt be/ haue ben/ or shall be byt wene any men/ that feloushpy is to be hol- den and reputed beste/ and moste blestyd to brynge theym to the hyghest wele of nature. Thys I say ys the feloushpy in whiche all thynges ben/ whiche men coude suppose sholde be despyed/ and that is worsshyppe/ glorie/ and thease of spryte and ioyousnesse. And where these thynges be / the lyfe ys blestyd. And w<sup>th</sup>oute theym yt ne may be blestyd. Then syth that yt is beste and mosie chye/ yf we w<sup>ill</sup> attayne therunto/ We muste gyue oure selfe to Vertue/ w<sup>th</sup>out the whiche we may neyther come by frendshyp ne nothyng/ that shold be of vs despyed. For Vertue sette a spyde/ Who somerue trodeth that he hath frendis/ he shall themne knowe fyrste howe he is deceyued/ whan he ys constreyned to assaye ad- uerse fortune. Therefore we may say/ whan ye haue proued/ then loue. And not whan I haue loued / themne to proue. But syth we be punysshed for our neglygence in many thyngis/ yet we be chye- ly punysshed for the neglygence of the worsshyppe and louyng of oure frendes bycause in our adurges takyng / we folowe sy- nystrer counceill and so that that we be forbeden/ for though we be entyched by one meane or be a nother/ eyther by long famylarite or w<sup>th</sup> admynystracyon of our duetes/ yet we breke sodeynly in the myddes of our frendshypis somtyme for lyp<sup>l</sup> offence. And so grete a neglygence in that thyng that ys moste necessarye/ ys greatly to be dysprayed / frendshyppe forsothe is the thyng to be sette asone in thastate of man. And in thutplyte of commodyte wherof/ alle men ben of one oppynon/ though the same Vertue be despyed of manye / whiche call yt but a thyng sette to sale and ostentacyon. There be many that dyspyse cychesse/ and they ben such as holde theym content w<sup>th</sup> lyp<sup>l</sup>/ and delyte them in poore food and poore arrape. And some despyse worsshyp/ by the despye of whiche many men ben sette a fyre. And such men as despyse yt/ trod that there is nothyng more waueryng ne more instable than the same. And so it happeth in other thyngs many men set no pryse by y<sup>t</sup> that other men make moste of. But all men accorde in thoppi- nyon of frendshyp. For they that geuen them selfe to thastate pu- blyque/ or they that delyte the in the knowlege & doctrine of many thynges/ & they y<sup>t</sup> ben besply occupped about theyr owne randes/ and (yf I shall ioyne the to the remenaunt) they that geue the self all to lustes & delytes/ trode & fele that there is no lyfe w<sup>th</sup>out

friendshippe/ namely yf they wyll lyue in any parte lyberally and  
woulyp. Friendship creppeth I wote not howe in to the lyues of  
alle men/ and yt suffreth none age to be parteles of hym. But  
yf so be that any be of so sharpe or cruell entente & nature/ yf he flee  
and hateth the metyng & felowshipp of mē/ as one dyd at Athenes  
a nameles man almoste/ sauf that he hyght T hymo: yet he may  
not suffre/ but that he must haue one to dysclose vnto the horte by  
lyte of his sharpe lyfe. And this myght be best proued/ yf yt myght  
happen that god wold take vs from the conuersacion of men and  
set vs somwhere in wyldernesse/ & there geue vs habundance and  
plente of all thyng y nature coude desyre/ & therewith take from  
vs the spght and vse of all men. Who coude be founde so harde y  
coude endure that lyfe/ or fro whome shold not that byng alone  
take the fruite of all plesaunce. Therefore yt is full trewe that  
Tarentinus Archita was wonte to saie/ the whyche our elders  
were wonte to tell vs/ as they herde tell of their elders. Yf any  
man had ascended in to heuen & beholden the nature of the world/  
and the beaute of the sterres/ that whyche he had seen of meruayle  
shulde be in no wyse plesaunt to hym/ yf he had none to whom he  
myght dysclose y he had seen. The whyche thyng ellys/ that ys to  
saie/ yf he hadde a frende to whom he myght dysclose yt/ sholde  
be to hym the thyng of moste souerayne plesaunce. No nature so  
ueth nothyng y is solytary. for yt leneth alway to some one thyng  
that yt wyll reste vpon. And where can yt more surely reste/ than  
in that thyng whyche is moste frendely to yte. But whan nature de  
clareth by so many spynes/ what she wold haue/ what she seeketh/  
& what she desyreth/ we were deef I wote not how/ for we wyll  
not here whan she aduertyseth vs. The vse of friendship ys dy  
uerse and many folde/ & so there be many causes of suspencion and  
dyspleasaunce/ the which to escheue/ to ease/ and to bere/ is a wyse  
mannes parte. But there ys one maner of dyspleasaunce y shulde  
be paciently borne. And that is whan one frende for the profyte &  
fayth whyche shuld be receyved in friendship suffreth a maulgre.  
for frendes shuld ofte be warned & blamed resonably. And suche  
warnynges and blamynges shold be taken benyuolently & frende  
ly. But I wote not how yt is trewe that Terence my samplere  
sayth in his comedye named Andria/ folowynge of pleasyr geteth  
frend/ and trouthe geteth hate. Trouthe is greuous/ for of yt co  
meth hate whyche is y payson of frendshipp. But folowynge of plea  
syr is moche more greuous/ whyche suffreth syn vnblamed/ & ma  
keth a mānes frende renne hedlynge in to myschefe. But the gret  
test faute y may be in a man/ is to despyse trouthe/ and to be by fo  
lowynge

to wyng of pleasur wylfully led in to decepte. Therefore dyspcece  
 and reason is to be had in this byphalue. First þ our aduertysment  
 to our frend be not so dre. And next/that blamyng be wythout chy  
 dyng. And lete vs vse benygnyte in folowynge of pleasur. That  
 word I vsed gladly/ syth Terence vsyd þ same. But byfore all  
 thyng lete vs flee assentacion in frendshyp/ which is the promoter  
 of vice/ þ which not only a frend but euery good mā shuld escheu.  
 It is not all one to lye wyth a tyaunt and to lye wyth a frend.  
 But he þ shetteth his earre agaynst þ trouth/ so þ he ne can here  
 of his frend þ trouth/ his heale is to be dyspayred of. Of the sayng  
 of Cato is well known/ how sharp enemyes mecte moch more  
 of som men/ thā such as semen theyr swete frendes. For the first  
 say for þ more pte trouth/ a that other neuer. And that is a folle  
 thyng/ that they whych be amonesshyd by theyr frendys/ take not  
 such dyspleasance as they shuld take/ but take such dyspleasance  
 as they shold lacke. For it greueth thē not þ they haue synned/ but  
 yt greueth thē greatly to be blamed for it. And it shuld be all other  
 wyse. For they shuld sorowe for theyr offence/ a be glad to be cor-  
 rected. And as yt is bettay pyre to frendshyp/ to warne a to be war-  
 ned/ and he þ is þ warner shuld warne benygne ly curtayssly/ a not  
 sharply/ and he þ is warned shuld take it pacetyly a not abstrynat-  
 ly: so we shuld hold/ that there is not a gretter sore in frendshyp/  
 than adulacion/ flaterie/ a assentacion: so how many names thys  
 vyce hath: yt sytteth to such men as be lyght a deceyuable/ to say  
 all thyng accordyng to pleasur/ a nothyng to trouth. With dysmy-  
 lyng in all thyng is dyscouise/ for yt taketh a waye a corrupteth  
 the iudgemēt of trouth/ yet in especyall yt is dyscouise/ for þ yt is  
 so contrary to betay frendshyp. For yt setteth a spyde trouth/ wyth  
 out the whych frendshyp may be of no valewe. For syth þ force of  
 frendshyp resteth in þ/ that one wyl shuld be made of many wyl-  
 les: how may yt be so made/ yf one wyl be not in one man/ ne yet  
 the same alwaye/ but varyaunt/ many folde/ and meuable. What  
 thyng may be so flessyble or so redy to bowe/ as the wyl of hym  
 that is redy to chaunge/ not only by þ felyng a the wyl of a nother  
 mā/ but also at his chere a countenaunce. Som mē wyl denye this/  
 Well I denye yt. He sayth so/ I say the same/ a what so euer he  
 sayth/ I haue maystred so my self/ þ I wyl assente in all thyng/ a  
 as the same Terence sayth/ But he speketh this in þ pson of Ena-  
 to. But to entred to this maner of frendshyp/ yt becometh best suche  
 as be lyght. There be many lyke Enato/ whā they be in place of  
 fortune/ a fame about other. But theyr assentacion is to greuous  
 namely whā authoryte is ioynd to vanyte. But a flaterynge  
 d. iiii. frende

frende/maye as Well be knowen and Understanden from a trewe  
frend/ yf a man put to due dyspygence/as all thynges Whych be co  
loured and dysmyled may be knowen fro such as be pure & veray.  
In that counsayll that is of leste wyse men/ one may sone put dys  
ference bytwene hym that is a flaterer and a light cytezeyn/ & hym  
that is constaunt sadde and wytt. Wyth what flaterer entred Ca  
sius Papprius into the eyres of our counsayll/ Whan he brought in  
the lawe to reneue the trybunes of the people. But he aduertys  
sed the cōtrary. Of my self I wyll not speke/ but of Scipio With  
a good wyll. O almyghty god howe great wytte and howe great  
mageste was in hys oracion/ that men sholde rather take hym for  
a prynce/ than for a felowe of the people of Rome. But ye were  
prensente/ & hys oracion is in your handes. So that lawe y sholde  
haue be made for the fauour of the people/ by the suffrages of the  
same people was put a backe? But now to torne agayn Where I  
was/ ye be Well remebred (Quintinus Maximus broder to Sci  
pio/ and Lucius Manlius being consuls) how greatly pleasaunt  
was semed the lawe made by Caius Lucinius Crassus entytled  
be sacerdotius to the people/ wheryn the reformacion of the colle  
ges was brought to the benefayte of the people. And he ordeyned  
fyrst to haue to do in hys cause wyth the people in the open place.  
And yet y relygion of the goddes immortall (my self defendyng  
yt) ouercam spghtly his vндыble oracion. And that was doon by  
me whyles I was pretor/ yfue yere before I was consull. So y  
cause was rather defended for the iustnesse of yt/ than by any hys  
authoryte. Then yf so be that in that place/ Where that our trage  
dyes ben played/ Where that countrefete & coloured thyngis haue  
great place/ that yt Whych is next y trouth is most praysed yf it be  
shewed & represented as yt shold be: What trowe ye then shold be  
doon in frendshyp which is all apcrued by trouth/ by y which frend  
shyp/ onlesse ye shewe your breste open & bare there may nothyng  
be spker & sure bytwene you/ ne ye may not loue verily/ ne be lo  
ued verily agayn. And yf ye Understande not verily/ how this is  
trewe/ take ye hede/ for though assentacion or flaterer be in it selfe  
cursed/ yet it hurteth no mā but hym y dysfully receyueth it & de  
lyteth hym in it. And so yt is y he y flateryth hym self/ is most re  
dyest to here flaterer/ & hath grettest pleasyr in hym self. But Ver  
tue loueth alway her self best/ & knoweth best her self/ & Understa  
ndith howe ampyble she is. But I speke not now of Vertue it self  
but of thopinon y is had of Vertue. for many there be y set not so  
moche be Vertue it self/ as y they may be semed Vertuose/ & fla  
terer pleisyth such mē greatly. And Whā feryned word be applyed  
to the



to thei: pleasur/they trove that suche feyned speches ben suffy-  
 cyent wytnesse of thei: prynges. Therefore bydene them is  
 no frendshyp/whan that one wyll not here trouthe/a that other is  
 redy to lye. And in our comodys/the flaterie of the dysardf seme  
 not to be half mery/onlesse there be glorious knyghtes. Whā one  
 asked/ys his souerayne lady coude hym grete thanke/the tother  
 answered/ys passynge great thankes/where it sholde haue suffy-  
 sed to haue answered thanke. Sothe flaterer euer entreaceth that  
 thyng/that he wolde haue entreced/for whose pleasur he sayeth  
 yt. Therefore though thys wete vanpte be of great force to lede  
 and drawe to yt suche folkes as haue pleasur in yt: neuerthelesse  
 they whiche be more wytty and more constaunt/sholde by aduer-  
 tised y they haue the selfe in aduante/that they ne be take be suche  
 wysp assentacion. There is no man but he seeth openly a flaterer  
 onlesse he be a foole or wytlis. But lete vs be ware lest he be  
 subtyll and by far sette meanes set vpon vs. And then he ys not  
 passyng easly to be knowen. for somtyme he wyll trauesse a man-  
 nes wyll/and fynally assente and make as though he dyd styeue/  
 a yet he flatereth. And at laste he wyll gyue vp his cause/a suffer  
 hym self to be ouertrowe/to y entente that he whych is mocked/  
 may seme hym self more valyaunt. But what may be forer than  
 to be mocked. Therefore we ought to be the better ware y yt hap-  
 pen not vnto vs. There was one sayde/ I wolde ye had euen me  
 thys day byfore all my frendys/ and byfore all suche as loue me/  
 mē of great worship/age/and how plenteously I lyue among  
 them. But yt sayeth by thys man/as yt ys sayd in the fables.  
 The moste sonnysshe persones repesente such aged men as lacke  
 fore syght/a be hasty of credence. But I wote not by what meane  
 our speche is fallen from the frendshyppes of such men as ben  
 parsyght/that is to say wyse (I speke of that wysedom that men  
 maye atteyne) to syght frendshyppes. Therefore lete vs turne a-  
 gayne to the fyrste frendshyp we speke of/and conclude therein. I  
 saye C. Iannius/ and Quintus Mutius/ Vertue geteth frend-  
 shyppes/and conserueth them. for in Vertue is the conuenience of  
 thynges/the stableness and cōstaunce. And whan she exalteth and  
 sheweth her owen syght/and whan she seeth a knoweth the same  
 that is in a nother/she draweth yt a lytyll a lytyll vnto here/a ta-  
 keth y same y is in a nother. Wherof loue a frendshyp of such kny-  
 tynge of good wyll ys sette on fyre. for both amor and amicitia be  
 deruyed of amado. And what ys to loue/ony ellis but for to loue  
 one without any indygence or setyng of profyter Whych profyter  
 yet flouryssheth in frendshyppe though one seke yt not. And by that

bene.

Beneuolence We ponge me haue loued these me whych were right  
aged/ Lucius Pausus/ Marcus Cato/ Caius Sallus/ Publi-  
us Nasica/ Titus Bracchus fader in lawe to our Scipio. But  
frendshipp she weth moste bryght whan yt is amonges the/ whych  
ben of egall yeres/as hertwene me and Scipio/ Lucius Furius/  
Publius Rutilius/ Spurius Nummius. Som whyle we aged  
men reste in the beneuolence of them/ whych ben to word & world.  
As yt fareth by me/ whych deyle in the samplparite of you and  
of Quintus Tubero/ which is a very ponge man/ and Publius  
Rutilius. for yt is accordyng to the reason of our nature and lyfe  
that one age succede another. But we shulde naturallly moste de-  
syre to lyue with our equallys. Wyth whom we cam into y world  
& with whom we shall as who farth depart hens agayn. But syth  
the thynges of men ben scapll and fallyng: we shold paryn vs/ to  
gete some such/ as we myght loue truly/ and of whom we myght  
be also trewly beloued agayn. for whan loue and beneuolence ben  
taken awaye from our lyfe: all gladnes and comforte goth wyth  
the same. for Scipio though he were sodernly takz away fro me/  
as to me warde yet he lyueth & euer shall. for I loued the vertue  
of that man whych can not be extynct: ne I haue not onely y ver-  
tue alway in my syght whych I haue founde alway redy at my  
honde/ but there wyth the same is lefte notable and clere to the myn  
that shall come after me. for ther shal neuer man take vpon hym  
so great thynges/ but that he shall moode to we/ that the remem-  
braunce & image of Scipio ought to be called to his mynde. Ther  
fore of all thynges/ whych fortune or nature hath graunted me/ I  
haue nothyng that I may compare with the frendshipp of Scipio.  
for in that frendshipp I founde the confort of our estate publyque:  
And in the same I founde alway counsaill redy for suche thynges  
as bylonged to my self: And in that same I founde reste/ full of  
all delectacyon. And I neuer offendyd hym in so lyttell a thyng as  
coude be ymagyned as fette as I coude feele. Ne I herd neuer  
thyng of hym y I wold not haue herd. We dwelled in one howse:  
oure maner of lyuynge was all one: In tyme of warre we were  
to gyders: In talkynge of our dysportes & playes images doyng  
we neuer dysseuered. And what shall I saye of our studyes/ the  
whych we vsed to knowe or to lerne alway somwhat: and in the  
whych whan we were fro the syght of the people/ we spent all  
oure voyde tymes. And yf the remembraunce and hie memorie  
of these thynges had dyed wyth hym/ I myghte in no wyse bere  
the absence of hym/ to whom I was moste nygh knytte/ and he of  
me best byloued. But these thynges be not dede/ but rather norys-  
shed and

shed and encreaced by the thought & remembrance that I haue of  
hym. And though all tho thynges were taken awaye frome/ yet  
myn age doth me grete comfote. I may not now longe lyue in  
thys desyre. Alle shorte thynges though they be greate/ they  
shold be tollerable. These thynges I haue had whych I  
myght saye vnto you of frendshyp. Now I exhorte  
you/ that ye so sette vertue without the whych  
frendshyppe may not be) that excepte the  
same ye deeme that nothyng maye  
be better than frendshyppe.:

¶  
¶  
¶

¶ Thus endeth thys booke entytuled Tullius  
de amicitia treatyng of frendshyppe/ newly  
translaty out of Latyne in to Englysh.:

¶ Cum priuilegio Regali.